

СТУДЕНТ

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NATIONALISM

CRTC Hearings

Messrs. Kondra, Hlynka and Slogan presented the KYK national brief at the CRTC hearings in Ottawa on February 20th. Couched in diplomatic language and stressing the community's willingness to compromise, the brief asked for multilingual broadcasting over the CBC.

Unfortunately the general impression made was that the speakers were unclear as to their demands, were sidetracked on minor issues and "had not done their homework

properly". They were able to quote from only one section of the Broadcasting Act and were unfamiliar with the rest. To the questions: "Why is multi-lingual broadcasting important?" and "What is it exactly that you want?" (repeated six times by Juneau, Chairman of the CRTC) they were unable to give a definite answer.

Instead of presenting a sweeping demand for 40 ethnic programs for 40 ethnic groups as was expected,

the speakers restricted themselves to requesting programmes for those groups "which had shown a desire for them." Their case was also substantially weakened by the splitting of multi-lingualism from multiculturalism.

The CBC on its part did not seem to understand the difference between homogeneity and heterogeneity within the Canadian context. Like all good bureaucrats, they were operating on the concep-

tion of "a pure model" — a "model" into which they could plug all kinds of programmes: sport, politics, ethnic groups etc. As usual, there was no understanding of the need felt by ethnic groups to grow and to develop their separate identity.

The general attitude was that the brief was a weak one and a compromising retreat from the multicultural positions that have been elaborated in the last few years.

Of 360 briefs presented, only 29 were accepted for oral presentation. The CRTC lumped almost all the "ethnic" briefs together under the KYK national one which was, unfortunately neither well argued nor the best. Ironically, the KYK brief was not even on the original short list. The original plan was to accept the SUSK brief. It took a telephone call to Ottawa by Dr. Kondra to substitute the KYK presentation for the SUSK one as "more representative."

On February 22, 1974, the CBC's actual outlook on multiculturalism was revealed in their rebuttal to the briefs submitted with respect to the CBC application for renewal of its network licenses. In his reply to Mr. Northrop Frye's question concerning the possibility of introducing multilingual broadcasting on the CBC, Mr. Lister Sinclair stated that the CBC wishes to stress the "bicultural nature of Canada." It is uncertain whether this was slip of the tongue on the part of Mr. Sinclair since he did not correct himself. Even if you give him the benefit

of the doubt, this Freudian slip is very indicative of the outlook towards multiculturalism to be found within the federal bureaucracy.

The main reason for this outlook is the fact that approximately 80% of federal bureaucrats are "Anglo." At best, they have no understanding of what multiculturalism entails; at worst, they have no sympathy for the policy. Though this is one of the main stumbling blocks, it could be overcome by a strong position on this policy on the part of the government. An example of

how this could be accomplished is seen in the way the government is stressing fluency in French on the part of civil servants. Also, the English-language press is not favourably disposed toward the multicultural policy. I draw this conclusion from the fact that during the CBC rebuttal, and the question period that followed, the discussion about multicultural broadcasting took up a fair portion of the questioning concerning CBC rebuttal. Yet, it was not mentioned at all in the majority of the articles

concerning rebuttal. Where it was mentioned at all, it appeared in one sentence.

Therefore, pressure must be brought to bear on the federal government for it to support the multicultural policy to the same extent it supports the official languages. In addition, the English-language press must be educated in the area of multiculturalism and it must be shown that multiculturalism is a policy that is widely supported throughout the country.

To accomplish this, we need the help of every member of SUSK. Please get in touch with us.

Y. DASCHKO

SOLZHENITSYN—IN PERSPECTIVE

George Steiner has written of the existence of strange compartments in people's minds that allow them to weep at the artistic presentation of tragedy and at the same time turn a blind eye to the real fact of suffering in everyday life. The Nazi chiefs in the Second World War were capable of appreciating Goethe and being moved by Bach and Wagner and were yet responsible for the annihilation of millions.

In the 30s many intellectuals either denied the existence of concentration camps in the Soviet Union or, if they suspected their reality, made excuses for the regime of Stalin. Catastrophes such as the death of six millions from famine in 1933 passed by with hardly a murmur in the press. Only Sweden asked the League of Nations for an investigation and Stalin refused the offer of Red Cross aid.

The voices raised at the time were few and far between. Orwell was one of those who saw the danger early; but the apologists for Stalinism were numerous. He had to take "Animal Farm" to three publishers before it was accepted. The reasons for refusal were, predictably, detente. In a preface to the Ukrainian edition to the book he wrote:

"... in my opinion, nothing has contributed so much to the corruption of the original idea of Socialism as the belief that Russia is a Socialist country and that every act

of its rulers must be excused, if not imitated.

"And so for the past ten years I have been convinced that the destruction of the Soviet myth was essential if we wanted a revival of the Socialist movement." (Written in 1944)

It is important to bear these facts in mind when we approach the writings and the life of Solzhenitsyn, a man who has done as much as anyone to destroy the "Soviet myth," and whose "artistic genius" as the newspapers keep assuring us, is indisputable.

Solzhenitsyn, however, did not discover concentration camps; they have existed for decades. It has taken the artistic presentation of suffering in camps to bring them to people's minds. Nor will the problem die when in six months the Western press no longer finds any sensational value in the statements of "Mr. Solzhenitsyn, the emigre Russian writer."

Solzhenitsyn, let us not forget, is a representative of only one current in the dissent movement — the Moscow group of Russian intellectuals. This group has focussed on the issue of civil rights, the freedom of speech and thought so cherished by intellectuals. But they have said little on political and social rights. Acting as a reformist pressure group, seeking alliance with the Western press and with members of their own social strata, they are viewed with suspicion by the

masses.

There are indications that, sensing the need for a more rigorous analysis of the system and for greater links with the working class they are developing a more radical platform.

The Western press has given prominence to only this group. They have avoided the question of the national struggles in the Soviet Union or of the working class opposition.

Let us examine this bias:

1. Massive publicity was given to the Sinyavsky-Daniel trial, meanwhile dozens of arrests were carried out in the Ukraine which went unmentioned.

2. 70 per cent of prisoners in concentration camps are Ukrainians. The rest are largely Jews, Tartars, the Baltic nationalities. Yet one would not believe this from the way the press presents the problem.

3. The dissenters singled out for special favour by the Western press are usually violently anti-socialist; there has been no mention of the Marxist current in the opposition.

4. Six prominent Russian dissenters have reached the West in the last couple of years. Yet 50 per cent of the Soviet Union is non-Russian; no prominent non-Russians have been exiled.

5. The Moscow dissidents themselves for a time did not seem to be conscious of the wider situation. It is only in the later issues of the "Chronicle of Current Events" that

substantial space was given to the Ukrainian problem.

6. Some currents in the opposition movement are coloured by Russian national-chauvinism, glorifying the "mystic qualities of the Russian soul" and speaking of "mother Russia ... single and indivisible." These Slavophiles have considerable influence among the upper levels of Soviet society and enjoy a degree of toleration not granted to other groups. They circulate their materials in relative freedom.

These remarks are helpful in putting the case of Solzhenitsyn into its place within the opposition movement.

The national movements are the only ones so far to have involved significant numbers of workers and intellectuals in the same organisations. They have also reached a high level of analysis of the situation, being faced with national and cultural discrimination as well as social and economic oppression. Why do we hear so little of them?

Then there is the sobering perspective in the West. Are Western intellectuals interested only in Solzhenitsyn the "Artist", in the fate of his talent and art? Are the university professors only concerned with the fate of Russian literature, its "tradition" and its contribution to Western "culture"? Does the fate of millions fail to move, and the contribution to art and culture of the non-Russian literatures (the other 50 per cent) fail to interest?

Does the artistic presentation of tragedy continue to move them more than the tragedy itself?

M. Vynnychuk



The Decay of a Tradition

EMIGRE NATIONALISM AND
TODAY'S YOUTH
by M. Vynnychuk

Criticisms of Nationalism of the Older Generation

The main criticisms of emigre nationalism centre around its emotional orientation, its anti-intellectual bent and its alliance with the forces of reaction.

Although ultimately there is, perhaps, something unexplainable and irrational about a people clinging to its language, culture and sense of separate identity, this is no excuse for presenting the problem as a communal neurosis or allowing national sentiment to degenerate to a mass-hysteria.

The anti-intellectual trend leads to a lack of serious analysis of the situation in the Ukraine, a disregard of intellectual currents in the West, and the loss of the best and most thoughtful elements in the Ukrainian community.

Fossilised thinking means only empty slogans and the clinging to symbols. No analogy is made with liberation struggles in other countries: Ireland, Palestine, Quebec, Vietnam, Eastern Europe. There is no understanding of the struggle of the Black community, of women or of working-class movements. The emigre nationalists are on the side of reaction in every case except the Ukraine.

Nor is there any criticism of the status quo in the country in which the emigre finds himself; the Ukrainians vote solidly for Nixon, Wallace, Stanford and Heath.

The unfortunate identification of workers' struggles — communism — Russia — reveals not only confused thinking and primitive politics, but makes the emigre-Ukrainians misinterpret the struggle in the Ukraine. Their orientation here still seems to be towards foreign intervention. This often reveals not only a lack of faith in the strength of the masses, but also a deep and sometimes selfish pessimism behind the fanaticism and the aggressive stance.

When Dryuba, Chornovil and Lukyanenko appear, they can only argue that the dissenters' positions are *insincere*, i.e., taken up merely for tactical reasons. The Hydro-Electric Station strike (Kiev, 1968) in which 10,000 participated carrying slogans like "All Power to the Soviets", leaves them stunned.

Thus an incredible situation develops in which many Ukrainians do not even believe that strikes and demonstrations have taken place. (Rather like the old lady who does not believe that the Americans have put a man on the moon.) When workers were poorer than today there were no strikes. Now that things have improved a little, how can there be even more strikes? Either they deny that the living standard has improved at all (a justification of unrest), or they deny the existence of strikes. They do not accept the possibility that an improvement in living standards might lead to greater demands in the quality of life. Today, in fact, most liberation struggles are closely tied up with cultural demands. A purely economic argument is today a conservative argument; the cultural factor is likely to grow in importance in the future.

"We have our contacts"

The reaction of the student element usually begins with the first dose of heavy obscurantism and with a resentment of the lack of open discussion. Nothing is more alienating from political life than to be told that your job is simply to listen and obey, to raise money and follow the party line. The real decisions are always taken somewhere above by the people who know best: "We cannot tell you where the money goes. We have our contacts in the Ukraine, but obviously we cannot tell you who they are. . . . The Resistance is doing its job, believe us. . . .", etc.

The old argument that the masses are ignorant and understand only simple formulations is both insulting and unacceptable to a generation that is emerging from schools and universities with degrees in Political Sciences, Sociology, History, Slavics, etc. Yet one still hears the false dogma that only those have a right to speak who carried arms in the last war (or the one before that).

Perhaps most disheartening to any young enthusiast is the cynical manipulation of people and the undignified demagoguery practised at demonstrations and conferences. The young cannot help but notice that the arrogance and egoism of these hard-liners is immeasurable, the practical results painfully limited.

Form Without Content

The simplification of content (often to its exclusion) leads to a clinging to form. The old patriotic phrases, the songs and symbols (the flag, tryzub, Shevchenko) are gradually worn thin and nothing put in their place. The constitutional arguments (We were robbed at Pereyaslav in 1654, by Catherine in 1773) and the racial hypotheses (the separate blood-group theory, the "Russians are descended from Finnish tribes" theory) are insufficient grounds upon which to build national feeling.

Similarly, the trappings of militant nationalism are sadly out of key: a Romantic indulgence practised for three weeks in the year in the idyllic surroundings of the Rockies or the hillsides of North Wales. The laurels of heroic death (the myth of Kruty), the brown shirts, the cult of discipline and the monolithic party mentality are less interesting than burning cigarettes from some old Hutslar and listening to his stories of draft-evasion.

The circumstances of war-time are the justification of this cult of discipline and ruthlessness. The nationalist parties try to keep their politics at this level of white heat by recreating the war-time situation.

One is told to be constantly vigilant because of KGB infiltration, because of the red threat. When the external pressure is non-existent, the struggle is turned inwards and one witnesses the internecine party strife of post-war years. Many young people turn from "politics" in despair and incomprehension after a taste of the inter-party squabbling of Banderivtsi vs. Melnikivtsi vs. Dvivykari vs. URDPivtsi vs. etc.

The intolerance of difference pervades every aspect of community life. It stretches from the ritualistic denunciation of mixed marriages, long hair and drugs, to the narrow-minded and dogmatic interpretation of history. The nationalists have a position on the Kievan Rus' state of the 10th Century but reject the cultural achievements of the Ukraine in the 1920s. During the last congress, one delegate, for no apparent reason, in the middle of a speech suddenly began thumping the rostrum and attacking the Harvard professors in the words: "How dare they say that the Ukrainians are not descended from the Antes . . . ?"

Cultural "Primitivism"

Glorification of certain figures in the past is also only at the level of symbols. There is no deeper knowledge of them and no serious attention paid to some of the key figures.

The superficial patriotism of the young tends to evaporate and consternation takes its place when they discover, for example, that Shevchenko kept his diary and wrote many of his short stories in Russian, or that they have only been repeating the first two stanzas of his "testament" because the last two contain a strong suggestion of atheism.

Another very dangerous myth is the one of 19th Century populism. The Soviet regime enlists the historical figures of the Ukraine as collaborators of the Russians in an attempt to present Ukrainian culture as second-best: a provincial culture of embroidered shirts, folk-dancing and folk-tales.

This is much more dangerous to nationalism than the outright suppression of Tsarist times. It encourages the more ambitious Ukrainians to break away from the village past and embrace the modern world of largely Russified cities.

But the Ukrainian emigres present substantially the same picture. Without in any way questioning the wealth and beauty of the populist tradition, many writers have deplored this linking of national to village-peasant life. The nostalgic eulogising of the "pure" Ukrainian values of the rural community is in the end harmful.

"But we have a national intelligentsia and a working class," stated Ya. Starynkevych at the Ukrainian Writers' Conference of 1957. "What they have accomplished is worthy of being depicted in great works of belles-lettres." Vynnychenko's studies of pathol-

ogy and sex, Pidmohyl'ny's novels on the city, Semencko's futurism, the proletarian experiment of VAPLITE, Kurbas' expressionist drama — these bold voices of the 20s were destroyed in the 30s, but have not succeeded in changing the orientation of "Ukrainian culture." Instead, we still have the coarse peasant humour of the average Soviet film, and 19th Century naturalism on the Ukrainian stage in Canada.

Ideology

The backwardness in political thinking is nowhere more evident than in the realm of ideology. If one walks into any ARKA store today, one can find reprinted copies of Dontsov's "Nationalism" first published in 1926. Contrary to the belief of most of the older generation, Dontsov was not even a nationalist; his concept of the division of mankind into the "men of will-power" and the "common herd" is closer to feudalism than any belief in the nation-state.

Even more sadly, most of the emigre nationalists seem to be unaware of the writings of their own ideologists and have lost the idealism and the radicalism they exhibited in the 40s. Quotations from Mikhnovsky and Poltava today sound like revolutionary slogans of the youth, and the programme of the 3rd OUN congress reads almost point by point like the manifesto of the Vietcong liberation front.

The basic contradiction in the positions of the emigres seems to be their radical stand towards the Soviet Union and their ultra-conservatism in every other aspect of their lives. The Ukrainian community celebrates the 40th anniversary of the famine in the Ukraine with picnics in the country; every member of the League for the Liberation of Ukraine is over sixty and looks like a plump pillar of the establishment.

These contradictions, however, have to be faced by the younger generation and where they do become involved, practical action leads to a rapid development of ideas.

The Modern World

The refusal to recognise the complexity of the situation in the Ukraine today or to apply any sociological criteria in their thinking produces what the younger generation considers to be a lack of understanding of certain key issues.

One of these is the relationship between industrialisation and nationalism.

Khrushchev's policy of giving greater responsibility to local cadres, his tolerance of a small elite who know Ukrainian culture well was an attempt to absorb patriotic sentiment into the system. The policy of utmost centralisation as practised by Stalin seemed to have reached its point of diminishing returns both in economic efficiency and flexible political control.

The fact that many top administrative positions in the Ukraine are already held by Ukrainians may prove a great advantage in the eventual downfall of the regime. As local men take over the affairs of the community, the elite will have to deal increasingly with the pressure from below.

People who do not consider open resistance as yet possible are either wittingly or unwittingly preparing themselves for a struggle by occupying strategic positions in the administrative apparatus. Until recently, however, the nationalists still considered every Komsomolets and party-member their enemy.

Another key issue is likely to be the attitude of the Russian and partly Russified population of Eastern Ukraine, and the ability of the national movement to draw it into the struggle. Because most of the post-war emigration came from Western Ukraine, they fail to understand the mentality of the Eastern regions, rejecting them as "un-Ukrainian." The lesson the Western Ukrainians learned during the Second World War upon penetrating the Eastern territories led to a retreat from the positions of integral nationalism and the subsequent inclusions of numbers of Eastern Ukrainians and Russians into the struggle.

СТУДЕНТ

STUDENT & ETUDIANT

Друкуємо лист-відповідь на рецензії на підручник **Ukrainian: conversational & grammatical, Level I**, які появилися в часописах "Поступ" і "Новий Шлях".

15-го грудня 1973 р.
Шановний Пане Редакторе!

Уже появилася дві рецензії на мій підручник **Ukrainian: conversational & grammatical, Level I**. Одна була надрукована у винніпезькому "Поступі" за підписом о. Семена Жінка, а друга за підписом Ярослава Чумака щойно появилася в "Новому Шляху", ч. 50.

Перш усього я хотів би подякувати обом авторам за те, що вони прочитали підручник і звернули мені увагу на те, що їм не подобалося. Ці зауваги є зановані і деякі будуть використані в другому накладі. Підручник дуже швидко випнудеться і незабаром випустимо другий наклад.

Щодо політичних або релігійних зауваг, я не буду вводити в полеміку з вищезазначеними авторами, тому, що ми живемо в демократичній країні, де кожна особа має повне право висловлювати свої думки, які б вони не були. Ми можемо не погоджуватися з ними, але не маємо права не дозволити їх висловлювати.

Пан Чумак починає свою критику, звертаючи увагу на друкарські помилки (друкарські чортки), які він понаходив на деяких сторінках. Їх усіх є десять, а якби додати англійські, то всіх було б п'ятнадцять. Але не всі, які він уважає помилками є дійсні помилки. Причнна лежить у розбіжності двох уживаних правописів. У підручнику заголово, що автор не вживав виключно правопису Голоскевича. Редакційна колегія скоро помітила, що правописний словник Голоскевича обмежений до 40,000 слів. Невже ж українська мова така убога? Технологічна революція двадцятого століття вимагає більшого запасу слів. Отже, щоб доповнити український словник новими технічними словами сучасного життя, автор не мав ніякого виходу як звернутися до радянських джерел.

По-друге, навіть у Голоскевича можна знайти чимало правописних помилок. (Див. Митрополит Іларіон, Наша літературна мова, Вінніпег, 1959, ст. 317). Тому ми користувалися теж правописним словником Погрібного, виданим у Києві, 1964-го року, і вкінці словником Жовтубора, який вийшов у Києві минулого літа. Ми в цьому не бачимо нічого поганого, тому, що українська мова є жива, динамічна мова, а не латина, яку ми зарухуємо до мертвих мов. Жива мова міняється й збагачується через нові обставини й умови життя. Ми не заперечуємо того, що переважна більшість українців у Канаді говорять західно-українським діалектом і, що нові умови життя на північно-американському континенті примусили нас видумати цілий ряд нових слів, які не є зафіксовані в українській літературній мові. Українці в Канаді мають право вживати правопис 1929-го року, але, коли ми не будемо признавати нові слова в сучасній українській мові, наша мова перестане бути засобом комунікації з українцями на батьківщині. Уже молоде покоління не говорить між собою українською мовою, бо не має достатнього запасу слів, щоб висловити складні думки або абстрактні концепції.

Пан Чумак уважає такі слова, як наприклад "парта", "велосипед", "волейбол", "пляж" російськими, хоча вони походять з французької або англійської мови. Візьмімо слово "парта". Сьогодні в Україні це слово означає стіл і стілець, на якому учень сидить у школі. Колиш в Україні, так як і тут у Канаді, двоє або четверо дітей сиділи на одній лаві. Сьогодні цього не знайдеш ні в Україні ні в Канаді. В Україні слово "лавка" означає "bench" і нічого більше. У Канаді ми вживаємо слово "ровер" замість "велосипед". Але "Ровер" була назва англійської фірми, яка експортувала велосипеди до Польщі перед першою світовою війною. Ця фірма й нині існує в Англії, де вона випускає автомашини марки "Ровер".

Щодо спортивної термінології, то сьогодні ніхто не розуміє ні в нас в Україні (крім жеменки

стареньких людей в Галичині), коли б ви почали говорити про відбиванку або кошиківку. Ще раз підкреслюю, що ніхто не заперечує вживання цих слів у Канаді, але учні середніх шкіл повинні бути свідомі сучасної термінології в Україні. Без цього знання наша мова в Канаді зійде на жаргон, якого зрозуміють тільки деякі люди, котрі живуть у західному Торонто або в північній околиці Вінніпегу.

Пан Чумак несправильно закидає мені, що я вживаю слова, як наприклад "штор", "байсик", "пічоса" і т. д. Ці слова ніде не вживані в підручнику. Вони тільки появляються на кінці підручника в списку діалектичних слів уживаних тут, у Канаді. Навіщо Вам було пришивати, те, чого нема? Мені дивно, що п. Чумак уважає слова англійського походження, як "вудгарні варваризми", а слова, які галичани присвоїли з німецької або з польської мови "літературними". (Див. "кельнер", "склеп", "трускавки", "каніпка" і т. д.) Чомусь виховання старшого покоління в австрійських і польських школах на Західній Україні викликає почуття меншвартості перед німцем або поляком.

Між іншим, під словом "літун" розуміють в Україні чоловіка, який утік від поліції або від своєї жінки. Слово "вершки" (sweet cream) не є російське. По-російському було б "сливки". Слово "дошка" означає "blackboard", а "таблиця" означає "bulletin board" в Україні. На дощі пишемо крейдою, а на таблиці можемо тільки припилювати афіші, паперні тощо. Овочі, як наприклад персик, бросковні або брусини, — не те саме слово (їх мені показували на Буковині минулого літа). На жаль, мій критик не знають докладно російської мови й готові зараховувати всі слова, які не пахнуть Галичиною до російського словника.

Накінче хочу сказати, що редакційна колегія вважає такі слова, як наприклад "аерокляб", "аеропорт", "космос", "супутник", "баскетбол", "вертоліт", "екскурсія", "ескалятор", "космонавт", "меню", "метро", "сандвич", "велосипед", "парта" і т. д. частиною української літературної мови і не має наміру їх виключити з підручника в другому накладі.

Щодо граматичних помилок, яких п. Чумак каже є "багато", їх є декілька, але не багато. Я нараховую тільки п'ять. Речення, як наприклад "Я дивлюся телебачення" не є помилкою. У підручнику пояснюється, що дієслово "дивитися" без прийменника "на" означає "to watch", а з прийменником "на" означає "to look at" у сучасній літературній мові. Також можна казати "Я говорю по телефону" або "Він передає по радіо" або "по телевізору". В українській мові прийменник "по" вимагає — як і завжди — дального відмінка однини. Цей вислів уживає Марія Дейко в своїх читанках призначених для рідних шкіл. А висловив, як наприклад "дивитися фільм" і "говорити по телефону" визнає правильним такій славний лінгвіст як д-р Юрій Шевельов, професор Колумбійського університету. Коли я звернув увагу одному професорові Київського університету, що Голоскевич радить уживати вислів "говорити телефоном", він усміхнувся і відповів, що ми говоримо мовою а не телефоном. У всякому разі, коли ми вживаємо електронічне приладдя, щоб говорити до когось, то мусимо (а не мусимо) вживати прийменник "по" з іменником у давальному відмінку.

Ніде в підручнику не написано, що українці в Канаді "творять" свої суспільства, тільки, що "мають свої суспільства" (стор. 183). А висловив, як наприклад "Як їй імія?", "Ну, як іде?" або "Де стоїть Київ?" зовсім правильні, хоча їх не часто вживають на еміграції.

Пан Чумак натякає, що "підручник забагато часу присвячує писанню українських літературних і незрозумілих вимов слів". Але він не каже, що на це присвячено всього тільки 19 сторінок, а з зніжками 24! Треба пам'ятати, що в підручнику є 312 сторінок. По-друге, на курси української мови, починаючи від одинадцятої класи, записуються учні, які не володіють укра-

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їнською мовою, діти з мішаних подруж або навіть неукраїнського походження. Для таких учнів вивча українських звуків і читання кирилиці приходить дуже важко. У моїй школі деякі учні кажуть, що їх батьки не говорять до них по-українському, бо самі не знають української мови. А деякі батьки навчаються української мови разом з своїми дітьми.

Отже, списки слів на початку підручника є на те, щоб були фонетичні вправи, а не для вивчення нових слів. На 33-ій сторінці учні починають вивчати слова й вислови, коли вони вже засвоїли звуки української мови. Цей підхід зовсім згідний з новою методою навчання мов, та, що я вважаю, що "основної переробки підручника" не потрібно, крім виправлення десятих друкарських помилок і п'ятих граматичних помилок. Покажіть мені підручник, який у першому накладі їх не має. Деякі чорно-білі знімки також будуть змінені, бо не відповідають змістові. Перший підручник був присвячений Україні, а другий том Level II буде присвячений українцям у Канаді.

Дуже не подобається деяким критикам, що заголово в підручнику, що в Україні свято державності святкують 24-грудня, коли постала УРСР. Але вони ні словечка не гадають, що в тому самому тексті написано, що в Канаді українці відзначають свято державності 22-го січня, тому, що того дня Українська Народна Республіка була проголошена в Києві незалежною державою. Панове, вибираючи уривки з тексту, ви можете довести все, що Вам хочеться, але чи не краще бути об'єктивним і справедливим? Ви можете не визнавати УРСР або ненавидити ту систему, яка існує в сучасній Україні, але ви не можете заперечити факт, що УРСР існує і є повноправним членом Об'єднаних Націй. Годі нам жити фантазіями!

Отець Іжик натякає, що "брак у підручнику християнського релігійного характеру" — що "слово "Бог" вжито тільки в словнику" — що "слово "Ісус" не вжито навіть у словнику". Отець Іжик мабуть не знає, що в провінції Онтаріо заборонено ставити в шкільному підручнику релігійне навчання або навіть молитву, щоб не образити людей різних віровчанств. Я не вважаю себе компетентним писати діалоги на релігійні теми. Цей обов'язок я передаю Вам, Отче.

Багато людей хочє знати, яким чином Комітет Українських Учителів в Онтаріо отримав 7,000 доларів від канадського уряду, а 3,000 доларів через торонтський КУК, щоб надрукувати підручник. Державна комісія бачила і переглянула рукопис перед призначенням фондів. Дуже багато людей, які займали або тепер займають поважні позиції в езекутиві Торонтського КУК також бачили й переглядали рукопис. Все робилося відкрито й провід КУК був цілком свідомий, що українські учителі пишуть новий підручник для державних шкіл.

На закінчення хочу сказати, що, хоча підручник був швидко надрукований (за 10 місяців), підготовка робота тривала довго. Автор докладно перечитав і оцінив всі підручники, які вживаються на еміграції та в Радянській Україні. Ніхто байдуже не ставився до такої важливої праці. Ні, пане Чумак, підручник не був написаний "на коліні", але в кзбістї спільно з редакційною колегією, після довгої і старанної підготовки. У той самий час ми були в консультації з дескими учителями рідних шкіл, хоча ми не могли прийняти всіх порад і рекомендацій. Ми мусимо прийняти факт, що нема, і можливо не буде такого підручника, який задовольняв би ціле українське суспільство. Я закликаю старше покоління, яке так критично і негативно ставиться до молодого покоління, до співпраці і при виданні другого тому. Ми не вороги. У нас та сама мета — збереження української мови в Канаді.

Юрій Джуравеш
Комітет Українських Учителів
в Онтаріо

Plus Ça Change...

An Address by Rev. W.D. Reid, Montreal, "The Non-anglo-saxons in Canada -- Their Christianization and Nationalization" (Pre-Assembly Congress of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, Toronto, 1913).

Canada today faces the greatest immigration problem that has ever confronted any nation ... Of the Anglo-Saxon we are not in the least afraid, but when we consider that last year over twenty-one per cent of all the incomers to Canada were non-Anglo-Saxon, who can not speak our language, have no sympathy with our ideals, and are foreigners in every sense of the term, then we begin to understand what a task is ours as a nation. One man out of every five who lands on our shores is a foreigner. He comes here with a foreign tongue, foreign ideals, foreign religion, only a mere caricature of religion, with centuries of ignorance and oppression behind him, often bringing with him problems that the best statesmen of Europe have failed to solve ...

... A very large percentage of them are absolutely illiterate. From northern Italy only fourteen out of every hundred ... can either read or write. From southern Italy fifty-six out of every hundred are illiterate. The illiteracy of the Russian Jew runs about twenty-three per cent, and he is perhaps the hardest of all to assimilate. He is industrious, hard-working and sober, but from the viewpoint of national digestion is like Jonah of old, still indigestible.

All authorities agree that intemperance is the great curse of the Slav wherever you find him. In a land like Canada, where we shall have to fight for our very existence, surely, if we are wise in this crisis, we will abolish liquor from our land altogether and give this foreigner a chance, when he comes to, his new environment.

Yet with all these drawbacks, many of the foreigners have noble qualities that make for manhood -- courage, self-sacrifice, thrift, generosity, filial affection, obedience, ambition, love of liberty; often deeply religious, they have in many cases the very qualities which, if properly handled, may help us to develop into a great and grand nation. If not, we may soon be driven on the rocks of a wrecked nationhood.

These men, too, are bringing us face to face with problems hitherto unrecognized in Canada. In many cases they bring with them a sort of atheistic socialism which casts a blight of death over any country where it takes root. Often they underbid the labour market, driving out the white man. They raise vexing municipal questions, they strain our charitable organizations sometimes to the breaking point, they expose healthy people to disease, and often herd themselves together in certain localities of the cities, constituting a real problem of the slums. Yet ... God is in this movement ... they have been brought here for a purpose, viz., that they should come under the quickening, renewing, uplifting influences of a pure Christianity.

How should we receive the immigrants? The time has come when we should stop the bousning of immigrants. Already we have spent over \$1,000,000 for that end. Already we are receiving far more than we can properly handle. Then we must inaugurate

more stringent rules at our entry ports, for keeping out undesirables. We are letting in too many of the criminal, pauper, and diseased class. The foreigners in Canada furnish twice as many criminals, (two and two-third times as many insane,) and three times as many paupers as the native element.

Another thing to be done, is to narrow the gateway to naturalization. Men are being allowed the full rights of citizenship who cannot write, who know not our language, who have no ideas of democratic government, and it is absolutely dangerous to put the vote in the hands of such men. Such citizens become the prey of the grafter, the political heeler ...

Another thing of which I am absolutely convinced, is that we should be able to meet the foreigner as is the case in the United States, with only one tongue. This country should have no separate schools, but all should be under the public school system, and education should be made compulsory. One of the best ways of Canadianizing, nationalizing, and turning all into intelligent citizens, is by means of a good English education ...

The question we have to ask ourselves seriously at this moment is, will the foreigner paganize us or shall we Christianize him? ...

Dear Constituent,

re: Chilean Refugees

Because of the concern of many of my constituents over the recent actions of the Liberal Government in opening the doors to the Chilean refugees, I would now like to make a statement of my views on this matter.

I believe that the Government of Canada has made another mistake that may have very serious consequences for the entire country. What is even worse is that it made this error being fully aware of the irreparable damage that could result.

Immigration Minister Andras announced that Canada will open its door to Chilean refugees, and not only that, but it will actually pay the Chileans \$650 each to come here. Once again we have succumbed to ideological pressures.

In the meantime, thousands of immigrants with worthwhile assets wait their turn in other parts of the world, while the Immigration Minister assured the House that hard-core terrorists would be screened out, we can only wonder if this means that other terrorists not defined as hard-core will be permitted entry. While the Canadian immigration authorities are capable of many things, how do they intend to tell the good from the bad, particularly when our own Ambassador to Chile has identified those seeking entrance to Canada as the "riff-raff of the left of Latin America".

These refugees include those who were too extreme even for Allende who was himself a Marxist. They include those who are most responsible for the chaos that compelled the traditionally non-political military to finally act on behalf of the people and

drove out Allende's increasingly tyrannical and incompetent Marxist socialist regime.

What will be the effect of these ideologically motivated people on Canada? The Prime Minister is making Canada the receptacle for the defeated radicals of the world.

I for one, do not believe that Canadians, whether they be native born or naturalized,

want this. By the time the Liberal Government is finally thrown out of office the damage will have been done. The real legacy of Mr. Trudeau will be seen in the results of an immigration policy which has screened out the wheat and let in the chaff.

Otto Jelinek, M.P.
High Park-Humber Valley

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ДВА ЛИЦЯ НАЦІОНАЛІЗМУ

Як один з головніших українських еміграційних центрів, "революційна ОУН" під проволон Ярослава Стецька, за статтею "Націоналізм — переможна сила" ("Шлях Перемоги", ч. 51 (1034), стор. 1) начеркує свій націоналізм отак: "Це незалежність кожної нації світу, це патріотизм, це свобода, справжня не обманна в рамках нації, це народовлада, яка охоплює не верстви, не класу, не групу, а весь народ... це героїчний гуманізм, це соціальна справедливість, це ідеалізм..." (підкреслення автора). Як тоді розуміти репортаж з поїздки п.

Стецька до Гватемали на "революційну акцію" — з'їзд ексекютиви Світової Антисекретної Ліги? На тій самій сторінці, у невідомій статті п. н. "Міжнародна зустріч у Гватемалі" (а може написав сам п. Стецько?) читаємо про важливі моменти з'їзду, тобто хто був на вечері, з яким ентузіазмом поширювалося пропаганду і з яким це більшим ентузіазмом приймалося пропаганду і т. д., і т. д. ...

А про враження з мандрів по місті Антігуа читаємо так:

"Мова еспанська у провідній верстві і впливи еспанської мабуть сильніші, як у будь-якій іншій латино-американській країні. Більшість 9-ти

мільйонного населення, індіанська, говорить своїми діалектами. Однак це не перешкоджає бути зрівняним у виборчих та всіх інших правах держави." (підкреслення автора)

Справді! Так само говорять наївні туристи про ситуацію на Україні. А де той націоналізм свободи, безкласовості, гуманізму і справедливості? Очевидно, фальшивий "антикомунізм" стоїть на першому місці.

Теорія і практика!
Годі вже нам підтримувати таких "революціонерів"!

П. В.

Ukraine in the 19th Century: an Introduction

The immediate origins of 19th-century Ukrainian history are to be found in the reign of Empress Catherine II of Russia. The destruction of the Zaporozhian Sich (1775) and the abolition of regional administration in Ukraine (1781) marked the end of the half-century of quasi-independence which followed Ivan Mazepa's defeat at Poltava. Russian administrative and judicial institutions were established in Ukraine, the Kozak regiments were incorporated into the Russian army and total serfdom was imposed on the peasants.

Right-Bank Ukraine was Polish territory at this time: an aggregation of feudal estates, each ruled as a separate principality by its owner. The weakness of the central government forced the Polish landowners to make economic concessions to the peasants who worked their estates and allowed a peasants' insurgent movement — the Haidamaky — to develop; most important, however, it made Poland easy prey for Russia and Austria. In 1793, most of Right-Bank Ukraine was annexed to the Russian Empire, leaving Halychyna under Austrian control.

Thus, Ukraine entered the 19th century with the last vestiges of its independence destroyed. This destruction was no sudden reversal of fortune: it was, rather, the lowest point of a decline which had begun in the mid-17th century, when Ukraine was associated with Russia by the Treaty of Pereyaslav. In 1800, then, Ukraine was not a subjugated nation-state but a political non-entity.

The Ukrainian aristocracy, which had developed from the Kozak officer class, was at this time the only politically articulate section of Ukrainian society. Its members were granted legal equality with the Russian aristocracy, leading them to identify their interests with those of the empire. Although the aristocracy retained a sense of ethnic distinctiveness, this took the form of a backward-looking provincialism, a sentimental attachment to the Hetmanate as the embodiment of Ukrainian political and cultural traditions.

The pervasiveness of Russian cultural influence is well illustrated by Ukrainian literature of the time. Virtually all Ukrainian writers were bilingual, using Russian to communicate with a wider public, Ukrainian for their domestic audience. The linguistic division did not reflect a political one: many eulogies of empire were written in Ukrainian,

while the most uncompromising manifesto of Ukrainian national opposition, the *Istoria Rusiv*, was written in Russian.

Throughout the 19th century, the development of political ideas and movements in Ukraine was subject to powerful external influence. In the *Istoria Rusiv*, for instance, the political tradition of the Hetmanate was modified by West European liberalism; in the next generation, the ideology of democratic, federalist Pan-Slavism was developed by the Association of Slavic Unity, a Ukrainian branch of the Decembrist movement.

The 1840s marked the ultimate decline of the aristocracy as a political force. Its place was taken by the intelligentsia, which consisted of déclassé nobles on the one hand and representatives of the lower classes on the other. The rallying points of this movement were the newly founded universities in Kharkiv and Kyiv.

The first generation of the intelligentsia infused new life into the ideas of their aristocratic predecessors by giving them a strongly populist bent. The Kozak state was idealized not merely as an expression of Ukrainian nationalism, but also as a society in which all were truly equal; similarly, the reformist and democratic-federalist ideology of the aristocracy was now conceived as a program for the entire nation. This ideological renewal consumed most of the energies of the first generation. Those who followed placed greater stress on practical organizational work; indeed, their predecessors seemed to them excessively idealistic. The political program of the new generation, which came to prominence in the 1860s, was modelled consciously on the democratic and radical movements of Western Europe.

Conditions in Ukraine, however, differed radically from those in the West. The Russian Empire was still an absolute monarchy, the bourgeoisie a nascent class incapable of mounting effective opposition to the tsarist autocracy. No Ukrainian bourgeoisie developed with the onset of industrialism; instead, Ukraine developed increasingly powerful economic ties with Russia and the Russification of Ukrainian cities attained its apogee. The proletariat, too, developed very late (emancipation of the serfs was not enacted until 1861). Accordingly, the reformist program of the populist intelligentsia lacked a social base. The scattered

groups which attempted to carry this program to the masses were met with incomprehension or hostility. Their activities were further impeded by governmental repression: the Society of SS. Cyril and Methodius was dissolved in 1847; the Valuyev Ukase (1863) and the Ukase of Ems (1876) forbade Ukrainian publications. It should also be noted that, as before, much of the social protest in Ukraine was an echo of what was occurring in Russia. For example, many members of the Russian terrorist organization "Narodnaya Volya", including its leaders, were Ukrainians, and the zemstvos in Ukraine were important centers of Russian liberal constitutionalism.

The reactionary regimes of Alexander III and Nicholas II further restricted the activities of the intelligentsia; nevertheless, toward the end of the century, political parties of various tendencies — Marxist, liberal-democratic, agrarian-socialist and nationalist — arose in Ukraine. The development of national consciousness was furthered, after 1905, by the growth of "Prosvita" reading societies and co-operatives organized by the rural intelligentsia (teachers, agronomists, village doctors, etc.). Even the Russified bourgeoisie and the proletariat tended to form their own societies and unions, separate from Russian organizations.

In time, these tendencies would doubtless have led to the formulation of a Ukrainian national ideology. In 1917, however, Ukraine was neither independent nor unified nor powerful enough to sustain a national revolution. After the final collapse at the beginning of the 1920s, Halychyna reverted to Poland, the rest of Ukraine to Russia. When Ukrainian national opposition re-emerged, it bore little resemblance to the national movements of the 19th century. The UVO-OUN, embittered by the "incompetence" of liberal and socialist democrats during the revolution and reacting violently against the dictatorial regimes in Poland and the USSR, developed as a distinctly militarist, totalitarian movement, its social program an afterthought. Not until the 1960s was a fresh attempt made in Ukraine to consider the national question in conjunction with the social question.

M. Yurkevich

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Symon Petlyura, commander-in-chief of Ukrainian government forces, takes the salute in Kiev, 1920.



Andriy Melnyk: smooth-spoken patriarch of the nationalist movement.

Cont'd from pg. 3

Two World Views

The basic political division between the young and old seems to be at the moment a question of how to fight the regime. But, for all the reasons given above, the difficulty of cooperation between the two generations amounts to more than a simple political division. Sometimes it seems to be a conflict of world views.

Recently, for example, at a meeting it was suggested that Kuznetsov be approached to write an introduction of a couple of pages to the translated writings of Moroz. His name was rejected because he was a Russian

and an "izmyennik Rossiyi". It does not seem to cross these people's minds that Kuznetsov might be a generous and understanding person with progressive, democratic views. (Ironically, Kuznetsov has a Ukrainian mother, speaks excellent Ukrainian and, in private discussions, has admitted that he feels more Ukrainian than Russian.)

The feeling one gets upon walking into a room of older people planning a political action of some sort is not merely an ideological aversion — it is more usually a sense of the utter hopelessness of any sane discussion.

I remember one experience where after a

long harangue against the limitations of the Ukrainian press in Canada and its reactionary views, from one representative of this press came the comment, almost as a flash of revelation:

"There is, when you think about it, nothing wrong with socialists. I mean look at Franko, look at the two advisors to our late archbishop..."

Or another earnest and puzzled question that reduces one to helplessness: "As I understand it, you are interested in neo-Marxism?"

How does one explain that many of the most radical students have never read Marx.

What begins as a healthy, instinctive reaction only later and gradually develops its intellectual justification.

One young group has stated that "its primary goal is to rehabilitate the concept of politics within the Ukrainian community... this is a prerequisite for any serious political work. We will try to revive the democratic traditions within the Ukrainian community."

At present they draw their inspiration from the liberation struggle going on in the Ukraine — not from the example of the emigre politicians.

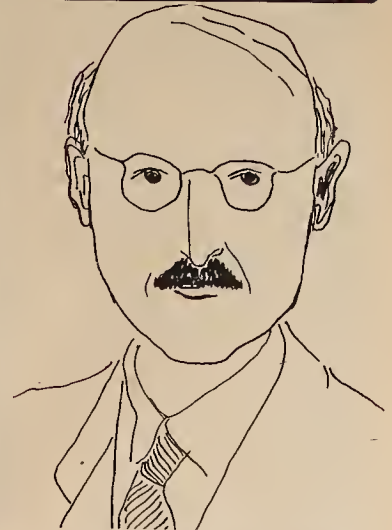
M. Vynnychuk



Yevhen Konovalets: undisputed leader of OUN until his assassination in 1939.



Stepan Bandera: the radical alternative.



Yaroslav Stetsko: a mixture of fervour and nostalgia. The nationalists' Don Quixote?

Integral Nationalism

by George Mednytsky

From the late 1920s, through the 30s, and into the second World War, the dominant form of nationalist expression in Ukraine was "integral nationalism". Developed in France in the late nineteenth century, and propagated in Ukraine in the twenties by Dmytro Donstov, it first caught on as a movement among the youth of Galicia and eventually became the ideology around which OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists) was founded.

Integral nationalism was based on the idea of "nation above all else". Belief in the nation was the supreme value, toward which all other values must be subordinated.

In the absence of a state which could be glorified as the bearer of the "national ideal", Ukrainian nationalists utilized the idea of individuals sharing similar biological characteristics and a common historical development, to form their concept of the nation, and regarded language and culture, rather than political structure, to be the common element which held Ukrainians together in an organic whole.

One characteristic of integral nationalism was its subordination of rational thought to the "intuitively correct" emotions. Emphasis was placed on action as opposed to thought, and will as opposed to reason. Not concerned with developing an analytic world view, the nationalists often revealed a fantastic romanticism and a reliance on myth in interpreting their past and present. This irrationalist stance sometimes resulted in an inability on the part of the nationalists to understand and adapt to complex and critical situations or to correct theories and ideas which proved tautary when tried in practice.

In the 20s, nationalist groups were used as forums for discussion and development of critical thought. In the thirties the intellectual activities of these groups had lessened considerably. Nationalist writers wrote with complete self-assurance as to the validity of their ideas, in a style recognisable by its extensive use of pathos and poetic clichés. This literature was not aimed at furthering understanding of human experience, but tried simply to appeal to the emotions in the reader. Action, war, and violence were glorified and presented as an expression of the superior biological vitality of the nation. The model Ukrainian hero was portrayed as a strong-willed, brave, and self-respecting individual, with an unbending character — completely committed to the ideal of nationalism, and prepared to sacrifice himself, and others, for the aims of the movement.

The nationalists strongly believed in the expression of "national will" through a charismatic leader and an elite of nationalist enthusiasts. The split in OUN in 1940 into

Melnik and Bandera factions has been attributed, at least partly, to the fact that many members of OUN, particularly the younger nationalists, felt that Melnyk was not sufficiently forceful or dynamic as a leader. The division into two factions resulted in the loss of lives and energy as the two sides battled with each other. This considerably weakened the nationalist movement, at a time when united and decisive action was most needed.

This broadening of ideology, however, appeared at a relatively late stage in the historical development of Ukrainian integral nationalism. In line with their guiding principle of "nation above all else", the nationalists generally ignored all political considerations which fell outside the boundaries of national interest. In contrast to their present-day counterparts who see the Ukrainian liberation movement in the context of universal freedom, the integral nationalists paid attention to circumstances beyond their own borders only insofar as their own struggle for national survival was affected. For the most part, the nationalists concerned themselves with maintaining a state of almost permanent revolution. A continuous stream of sabotage and terrorist acts was designed to keep Poland and the Soviets from solidifying into their hold on Ukrainian lands and eventually, it was hoped, these isolated manifestations of revolt would merge into a large-scale national uprising. More moderate methods of achieving political change, such as compromise with the occupiers or efforts directed through "legal" channels, were rejected by the nationalists.

Some of the theories of the nationalists (their emphasis on the "leader principle", and the concept of the subordination of the individual to the interests of the state), approached fascism, and some aspects, such as their insistence on "racial purity", even went beyond the original Fascist doctrines. In practice, the tactics of the nationalists were often quite ruthless.

In order to understand Ukrainian integral nationalism, however, it is necessary to look at the circumstances under which it developed. There was a general deterioration in the quality of political groups during the period between the two world wars. The victory of Communism in the Russian Empire led some elements to resort to extreme measures to prevent its further spread, and to copy its tactics in fighting it. The post-1918 peace settlement was an attempt to satisfy the national aspirations of certain groups but seemed only to stimulate the nationalism already growing among the peoples of the area. The West Ukrainians — and the East Ukrainian emigres who were associated with them — suffered from both these developments. The denial of moderate demands for

Ukrainian national expression by the ultra-nationalist governments of Poland, Rumania, and later Hungary produced an extreme reaction. For some, Communism presented a vehicle for expression of national resentment. Even those who were never moved by the Communist appeal were often impressed by the success of Communist tactics. The triumph of Communism gave these tactics a new authority. Basic to the new fashion of party conflict was the assertion — completely compatible with the nationalist idea of "nation above all" — that the end justifies the means. This policy became accepted practice among the followers of OUN. At first its application was limited to non-Ukrainians; only Polish and Soviet representatives were the targets of assassination attempts. After the split in OUN the nationalists turned on one another and eventually even members of the clergy fell victim to the new trend in ruthlessness. Historians have pointed out that, to some extent, this resort to violence was due to the circumstances of the time. In view of the mass executions carried out by the Nazis and the Communists, the sacrifice of a few more lives to attain important results seemed of little consequence. Yet the general blunting of moral sensibility, and the willingness of men to undertake such actions could not have progressed as rapidly had they not been indoctrinated beforehand by an ideology which purported to furnish an idealistic justification for their violence.

The integral nationalists played a key role in developing Ukrainian consciousness, by continuing the tradition of struggle for independence. They suffered, however, from a lack of a rational base upon which members could rely once the initial burst of emotional patriotism had subsided. By contrast, the liberation movement in the Ukraine today has acquired a broader vision, of a significantly more intellectual character, and encompassing political but also social and economic considerations.

Ethnocentrism played a major role in integral nationalist ideology. An OUN leaflet released in the spring of 1943 in Kharkov emphasized the need for upholding the purity of the Ukrainian language, and for resisting the intrusion of foreign elements on Ukrainian culture. Racism and anti-semitism, although not intrinsic components of integral nationalism, occasionally entered into the writings of nationalist authors in the course of their treatments of the idea of ethnocentrism.

The stress placed on ethnocentrism and on one leader alienated a number of Ukrainians, particularly in the East. The "leader principle" was alien to the native inhabitants and the slogan "Petliura, Konovalets, Melnyk — three names, one idea" was at first

meaningless to the average East Ukrainian, since the second and third of these names were unknown to him as OUN activity in the east had been severely limited under Bolshevik rule. Even more irritating to many East Ukrainians was the emphasis placed on "purity" of the Ukrainian people. According to OUN leaders' beliefs, this "purity" had been endangered by the intrusion of Russian elements — the physical immigration of Russians, and the penetration of Russian influences into Ukrainian culture and speech. In Kiev, in 1941, the nationalists set about radically purging alien aspects of life in the city. A certain number of local Ukrainians accepted this campaign enthusiastically, sometimes carrying it further than the nationalists themselves. Others, although Ukrainian by background, had long been used to employing the Russian language and associating freely with persons of Russian ethnic origin. Consequently, the "purifying" process meant in many cases serious disruption of their way of living and their social relationships. The loss of nationalist prestige in Kiev allowed the Germans to sharply curtail nationalist activities in December, 1941, without fear of significant reaction on the part of the inhabitants.

The nationalists also ran into problems in East Ukraine as a result of their preoccupation with one goal, national liberation, without taking into consideration the other pressing needs of the people. When the Germans moved into East Ukraine, the vacuum left by the removal of Communist direction resulted in a demand for positive programs. The people rejected the Communist regime as such, yet they were accustomed — through years of propaganda and planning from above — to the existence of a fully formulated program which offered a long-range goal, an explanation of the course of events, and a series of immediate instructions. Unexplained orders and vague slogans were insufficient substitutes. Considerations of physical survival preceded any thoughts of national expression.

This reality led to a broadening of content in integral nationalist ideology and a number of social and economic programs were developed. This did not mean the nationalist goal was cast aside; the attainment of Ukrainian independence remained the central value. But the nationalists realized that for the bulk of the East Ukrainian population independence could be presented as a means to the attainment of other values, but not as an ultimate value in itself.

Sources: J. Armstrong, Ukrainian Nationalism, I. Lysiak-Rudnytsky, Mizh istoriyeu i politykovu.

FERMENT IN THE UKRAINE

" Tamara Tkachuk "

Since the trials of Yu. Daniel and A. Sinyavsky, in the spring of 1968, an ever increasing amount of literature dealing with Soviet dissent has reached the West. Two groups, from within the broad framework of Soviet opposition, have been singled out and popularized in the Western press. These groups are: the loosely connected circle of Russian intellectuals involved with the Initiative Group In Defense of Human Rights, and Soviet Jews wishing to emigrate to Israel.

When one examines the politics of these groups, one soon realizes that this coverage is not accidental. Take for example, the Initiative Group in Defense of Human Rights. Composed of such highly, prestigious individuals as academician A. Sakharov, historian Z. Medvedev, physicist V. Chalidze, the group proposes no radical changes to the Soviet system. Basing themselves on the Soviet Constitution, they call for increased artistic and scientific freedom, respect for basic human rights, increased exchanges with the West, and a return to Soviet legality.

To carry on a defense of such moderate, intelligent men is not a hard task for the Western newspaperman. The reader of the Western press often finds such highly spirited, rhetorical reportage ironic. I am reminded of one particular American newsmagazine which carried one lengthy article defending the courageous, moral behaviour of author A. Solzhenitsyn, counterposed by another anguished article condemning the actions of priest-activist Daniel Berrigan.

In view of the fact that most of the Western press is pro-Israeli, coupled with consistent pressure from "world Jewry," it is not surprising to find that the issue of free emigration of Soviet Jewry has become the topic of editorials from Washington to Vienna. It is interesting to note that the issue of emigration for other groups from the Soviet Union is seldom raised. (An exception should be made for countries such as Canada, where a strong East-European emigre community exists.)

The Soviet dissenter, however, fares just as badly in the Western emigre presses. If you read the Ukrainian emigre press, you get the feeling that academician A. Sakharov doesn't exist. Groups such as the Initiative Group are largely ignored, and only dissenters involved with the national question are dealt with extensively.

Oppositionists, such as V. Moroz, V. Ghoranovil, and O. Dzuba, are presented as secret adherents or sympathizers of nationalist movements abroad, conveniently hiding behind a socialist smokescreen.

In all of these forums, Soviet oppositionists are not written about in terms of a historical, socio-political and economic process. The analysis that exists is highly superficial and biased. It is for this reason that, in order to understand what is occurring in the Soviet Union, one must turn to the oppositionists themselves. One excellent source of primary documents (letters, petitions, essays) can be found in the book "Ferment in the Ukraine," published in 1971 and edited by M. Browne.

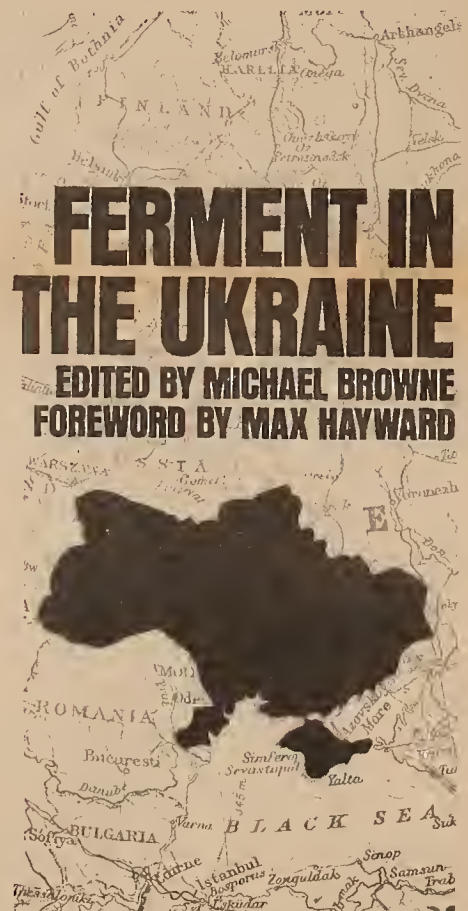
Following an excellent introduction, which places the post-war oppositional struggle into an historical perspective, the book contains a series of documents dealing with the embryonic Ukrainian Workers and Peasants Union (U.W.P.U.). This group of seven men, all from working class and peasant backgrounds, met and discussed the national and social questions in the Ukrainian SSR from 1958 to 1960. The members of the group concluded that the independence of the Ukrainian Republic was the chief requirement for the improvement of the living standard of the population of the Ukrainian SSR. They tentatively drafted a programme and discussed forming an organization directed at agitating against illegal limitations on democratic freedoms and for the secession of the Ukrainian SSR from the USSR on the basis of Article 17 of the USSR Constitution. By November 1960, the group rejected the draft programme and the original analysis embodied in it. As a member of the group, L. Lukyaneko wrote: "As a result of studying Soviet reality...I began to think that it was not the independence of the Ukrainian SSR that was essential for an improvement in the life of the people, but the liquidation of bureaucratism. And it seemed to me that bureaucratism could be liquidated only by giving greater scope to socialist democracy..." In 1960, all members of the group were arrested and sentenced to harsh sentences from a commuted death sentence to ten years of corrective labour.

The next three sections of the book contain writings of oppositionists arrested in the all Union Sweep of 1965-1966. Documents in this section range from letters, appeals and petitions, to an important

philosophical essay entitled "The Report from the Beria Reserve" by historian V. Moroz. Written mainly in prisons and camps, they provide an important insight into the thinking of oppositionists on social, cultural and political problems.

The editor concludes his book with a listing of all known Ukrainian political prisoners (1940-1969), as well as a section containing all published materials that state the position of Soviet authorities vis-a-vis the oppositionists in Soviet Ukraine. It should be noted that all documents in this book are fully annotated and the editor has included an extensive bibliography.

Since the last wave of arrests in 1971-72, the repression of oppositionists has intensified steadily. For many dissidents, these arrests have shattered any remaining illusions of using a legalistic-constitutional approach to solving the contradictions in Soviet society. The conclusion for many oppositionists is that they must search out new organizational forms in order to survive. It is still premature to forecast the nature of these new forms; however, news of clandestine parties is reaching the West. If the clandestine party is on the order of the day, it will be interesting to see how they compare to such groupings as the Ukrainian Workers and Peasants Union.



FERMENT IN THE UKRAINE

EDITED BY MICHAEL BROWNE
FOREWORD BY MAX HAYWARD

Ferment in the Ukraine is on sale in Ukrainian bookstores. It may also be ordered from SUSK for \$3.00.

УКРАЇНСЬКИЙ ДОСЛІДЧИЙ ПРОЄКТ ПРИ ТОРОНТОНСЬКОМУ УНІВЕРСИТЕТІ

Невдовзі в Торонтонському Університеті буде підприятий т. зв. "дослідчий проєкт", запланований як ядро майбутньої постійної програми українознавчих студій. Проф. Юрій Луцький подав основні інформації про цей проєкт у відповідях на запитання редакції "Студента".

Яке завдання дослідчого проєкту?

В першу чергу торонтонський осередок має на меті розвинути дослідно-публікаційну програму. Він буде мабуть мати скромну назву "Рісчерч Проджект" і шойно пізніше може стати повною програмою чи осередком.

Які будуть джерела фінансової підтримки?

Розвиток проєкту буде майже виключно залежати від збіркової акції серед української громади. Університет обіцяв постаратися дати нам на початок певну допомогу.

Що зроблено дотепер, щоб здійснити організаційні плани?

Узгіднено оформлення осередку в університетській програмі. Зроблено перші кроки, щоб зацікавити нашим проєктом українське

громадянство. Справа осередку буде обговорена на науковій конференції у Вінніпезі, яку скликає КУК на початку квітня.

Який досі відгук від української спільноти, від університетів, від уряду? Чи вони прихильні?

Дотепер відгук від університету і від громадянства прихильний. Не є виключене, що уряд також зрозуміє важливість такого осередку якраз в Торонті. Деякі українські науковці з інших канадських університетів нас піддержують.

Чи намічено вже план праці?

Конкретний план праці на перших пару років готовий і буде незабаром оголошений. Вас буде цікавити те, що ми плануємо видавати журнал для аспірантів (гредуюйт студентс). Початок всіх видавничих плянів передбачено на осінь 1975 р.

Яке відношення проєкту до праці інших українських наукових установ?

Ми не будемо входити в конфлікт з Гарвардом, з яким ми є в постійному контакті. Новий осередок в Оттаві мабуть має інші цілі і ми не будемо дуплікувати їхньої роботи. Українське Академічне Видавництво так само зацікавлене в тому, щоб нам допомогти. Ми будемо спів-

працювати з проф. Куошівичем, який буде продовжувати редакцію англомовної гаслової частини енциклопедії, що появиться друком в Торонті.

Чому такий проєкт потрібний саме тепер і чому відчувається потреба підвищення якості вивади, педагогічної праці і т. д.?

На нашу думку, прийшов крайній час на те, щоб створити міцну базу для української науки в Канаді і задоволювати потреби наших студентів (головно публікацією відповідних підручників і текстів). Ми запросимо до співпраці найкращих наших вчених і в такий спосіб піднесемо рівень українознавства. Очевидно, все буде залежати у великій мірі від щедрості громадянства, бо без відповідних засобів не можна багато зробити.

Яке відношення проєкту до науки на Україні?

Якраз тепер наука на Україні є в жахливому положенні, майже такому як у 1930-их роках. Щоправда, тепер не конче арештують вчених, але багатьох позбавляють праці. Публікації заповіджені в пресі не появляються. Тому тим більший обов'язок українських вчених у відьомому світі вивести нашу науку на широкий, міжнародний шлях.

Letters to the editor

To the editor of "Student".

January 23, 1974

Your choice for the candidate to the Press Rawt is excellent one. Only instead of going to expence for the gown, give her old broom and send her to the moon (on the Hal-low'en night).

Yours truly,
Reader of the "student."

NEW DIRECTIONS
140-142 Second Avenue
New York City, New York
February 7, 1974

To the editors:

There is a certain troubling aspect — almost tradition — of your tabloid that requires a greater degree of editorial understanding and consequent correction. As any steady reader of STUDENT no doubt realizes, the journal subsists to a large extent on articles reprinted from other publications. This, of course, is by no means a bad thing, provided that the borrowed material in some way enhances the quality of the publication — as has often been the case with STUDENT. However, this is not the point. What is the

point is the editorial obligation to mention the source of the reprint. You understand, I am sure, that this is standard procedure in the so-called "journalistic world" — even, incidentally, in the Ukrainian press. Among professional publications requirements are even more rigorous, i.e., copyright, etc. Yet the minimum courtesy is always the acknowledgement of the original "parent" publication.

My interest in this matter is, of course, somewhat more than academic. To get to the point — again — it concerns your use of the article "Growing Up Female and Ukrainian" by Christine Lukomsky in your January, 1974 issue of STUDENT — an article that originally appeared in the Spring/1973 issue of NEW DIRECTIDS magazine.

Now, I can assure you that we here at ND are always delighted to see our magazine receive some notice, whether good or bad. When one is almost conspiratorially denied any kind of publicity and is instead greeted with the more common glaring silence, any bit of light is regarded and appreciated as a virtual godsend. Understand, therefore, my feelings when a whole — and one of our longest ever — article is reprinted from ND without even a breath of

acknowledgement. Not even some tiny little 'nd' in some obscure little corner. . . .

Let I seem too much of a quibbler, let me also remind you that at present STUDENT very often follows the same policy in regard to its other reprints. Whether negligence or chronic oversight, please do correct this lamentable practice.

Sincerely,
Alexander Motyl
editor

Dr. Motyl's unimpeachable devotion to Truth has made his name a byword in the Ukrainian community, and the searing exposé he has produced on this occasion, unprecedented in its perspicacity, compels even us — the guilty — to admiring wonderment. May it be permitted to us — not in extenuation or mitigation of our calamitous oversight, but in partial explanation thereof — to repeat the time-worn adage: "Imitation is the compliment that mediocrity pays to genius."



DOLLY KOMAR

as women?

We are said to be snobs and we feel that this is a great injustice, for this is the exception rather than the rule as far as we are concerned.

We were brought up by our parents to treat Ukrainian women not only as the object of our affections but also with respect and admiration.

It seems that the article by Infuriated deals with the Ukrainian males of the 1950's. For the girls who haven't opened their eyes and looked, the Ukrainian male has "come a long way baby!" Gone are the days of thin ties and square suits. As our style has changed so has our attitude. We are trying very hard to convey this to our Ukrainian ladies as difficult as it may seem.

We hope that this letter will open the discussion amongst other males who are in a similar situation as we are. In addition it is hoped that the opposite sex will try to gain an understanding of our problems.

In summation, we say that this cannot be done by the Ukrainian male alone. We now stand near a fork in the main road and we wish help in deciding which path to follow. We ask the Ukrainian female to help us to arrive at a reasonable solution.

Signed,
Disappointed

Changing one's appearance in no way demonstrates a change of consciousness. It merely demonstrates the observance of a fact that is present in western society. It is at present chic to be concerned about pollution, health

food, women's liberation, left-wing politics & clothes. It is a phase, and if that's what you are doing then your circle will attract those that are on the same level as you, whether they be men or women. If you are really interested in communicating your change of consciousness, and if it is real, then perhaps what you should be doing is discussing it with the other men and women in your group.

Unfortunately, one of the greatest problems with the women's movement is that it is interpreted as an anti-male movement, when in fact it concerns both sexes and should engage both in discussions. Unfortunately, the woman's liberation movement, is opposed by both men and women, and no amount of convincing will change their attitudes. Perhaps the women in your club feel threatened by your more liberated attitude. You will only know if this is true if you openly discuss your concern and try to grow together.

This month's Male Chauvinist Pig of the month award goes to . . . YIP . . . YIP . . . Yahoo . . . the flower of the west, Dr. Kondra, President of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee for including, once again, no women on the delegation to the CRTC Meeting in Ottawa. Isn't it about time that Ukrainian women were included in the major policy discussion-bodies of our community. The strength of the delegation would have been increased one hundred-fold if Judge Wawryko was present. At least they would have had their "facts" straight. So, Dr. Kondra, the award goes to you — with our best, of course.

"Disappointed" writes a letter to respond to "Infuriated". Terrific. The way I see it (sitting here working on the typesetting for "Student"), one of the main problems in any discussion of this kind is that the men and women involved persist in seeing each other in terms of roles and images and, yes, stereotypes — and being "Infuriated" or "Disappointed" doesn't help a damn. I am a real live person, you are a real live person, we can help each other to be real live people. And to anyone who has read the above, HELLO — my name is Donna and this message comes to you from Annie Buller Typesetting, 12 Hart House Circle, basement. Need I mention that I am half Ukrainian?

"A funny thing happened on the way from the Zabava"

Dear Dolly,

Upon reading your article by Infuriated in a recent issue of Student, we feel that it is time for the "Ukrainian male chauvinists" to stand up and be accounted for.

As of February 1st, 1974, we have declared war on the phalanxes of the eligible Ukrainian female. We ask you Dolly, what do we have to do to make these girls function

П'ЯТЬ ТЕКСТІВ

Марко Царняняк

ДИВИСЬ НА ЩУРА

За кнтайською

днвнсь на щура не має шкіри
людна але без вховання
людна але без вховання
не вмирає: чому?

днвнсь на щура має зуби
людна але без зупинки
людна але без зупинки
не вмирає: чого чекати?

днвнсь на щура має член
людна але без обряду
людна але без обряду
чому не поспішати: вмерти?

WANTED

WANTED: YOUR ART:

this anthology
needs
ILLUSTRATIONS

it is an
opportunity
for the
yet UNKNOWN
YOUNG UKRAINIAN ARTIST
to become
KNOWN!

WANTED: YOUR HELP!

we APPEAL
to fellow
POETRY/ART ENTHUSIASTS
to assist
in ANY
of the following:

- CHECK ...
CLIP
&
SEND TO SUSK

(a) ... collect poetry at your
... university
... Ukr. student's club
... city
... province

(b) ... send names, addresses of
poets/artists whom we
can contact.

(c) ... help analyse this poetry
&
write articles on contemporary
Ukrainian Canadian poetry

(d) ... collect illustrations/art from
... university/art dept.
... art colleges
... Ukr. student's club
... city
... province

(e) ... other ideas?

Name

Address

University

Telephone

ІНФОРМАЦІЯ

це речення не містять
жодної інформації

це речення містять
більше інформації ніж попереднє речення

тому що це речення твердять
це речення містять
менше інформації ніж попереднє речення
воно містить
більше інформації ніж попереднє речення

це речення містять
стільки ж інформації скільки й попереднє
речення

це речення містять
не більше інформації ніж наступне речення

це речення містять
не менше інформації ніж попереднє речення

♦♦

що робити коли знати що не робити
написати на воді роман із заголовком
що робити коли не знати що робити
намалювати на повітрі картину з назвою
що не робити коли знати що робити
вирізьбити з вогню скульптуру з назвою
що робити коли не знати що робити
зліпнати з глини людину з іменням
що робити коли знати що не робити

WANTED: YOUR POETRY!

This year
SUSK
plans
to publish
an anthology
of UKRAINIAN, ENGLISH or FRENCH poetry
by
Ukrainian-Canadian university students
or
any young Ukrainian-Canadian ...

included
will be
analytical articles ...

the PURPOSE
of this anthology
is
to REFLECT the VARIOUS THEMES,
INTERESTS,
STYLES

of poetry
of the contemporary "Ukrainska Molod" "

the anthology
does not aspire
(and we stress this point!)
to contain:
professional poetry
or poetry, which should be
approved by
our "starsha generatsiia"
or the type
which is usually chosen
to emblem
our censorious Ukrainian press

it,
we hope
will TRULY REFLECT
the REAL

THOUGHTS
IDEALS
ASPIRATIONS
EXPERIENCES (any!)
CONFLICTS
NEEDS
whatever!

of the young Ukrainian (? in Canada?)

the poetry
will be chosen
by
a selection committee
of poetry enthusiasts ...

АЛЬТЕРНАТИВНА УМОВНІСТЬ

від голої жарівки
біле тіло
осередить світло

і вузька кімната
чорні мов тло
врочистого портрета

я нотую рот
що округлює м'які
слабкі навісисне

розташування волосся
руку що знімає
наче поламана

шкіру біду
й тугу мов рукавниця
на лікарській руці

пальці розпростерті
що не можуть стиснутись
але внутрішню рівновагу

самозосередження бачу
в стегнах і широкім
гладкім животі

тільки глянь
на ці прозорі
поверхні: їх я

показую тобі
тоді торкніть
цих малих грудей

і плечей якщо смієш
вони тверді
суворою сналою

і я без руху
злітаю і обертаюсь:
акула у повітрі

ЧОРНОТРОПОМ ДИДЕМО І БІЛЬШЕ БІЛІТИ
НЕ ЗМОЖЕМ

п'ята	чорнюша	білця
ніготь	чорнуватий	білозем
палець	чорнявенький	білозор
кісточка	чорнесенька	білуха
корінь	чорнене	білнло
лнтка	чорнява	білзна
стегно	чорнясте	білолісся
бедро	чорненке	білокрів'я
геніталії	чорні	біланн

Коре замулена: мертва живе: воскресє

груди	білі	чорногузи
рам'я	біленьке	чорнокнжжя
плече	білясте	чорнолісся
шнця	білява	чорнізна
підборіддя	білене	чорнло
губа	білесенька	чорнуха
язик	білявенький	чорнобиль
ніс	білуватий	чорнозем
брова	білюща	чорниця

Send POETRY/ILLUSTRATIONS, including name,
address, age, university
faculty, courses, etc.

if you have published your
poetry, please include this
information as well, by May 30th

to: SUSK
c/o Lada Hirna
394 Bloor St. W.,
Toronto, Ontario

(telephone: 921-3602)

ЛІТЕРАТУРНІ КОНКУРСИ ОПЛДМ

Із метою стимулювати прояви молодих літературних талантів серед нашої молоді та заохотити їх включатися в процес розвитку українського мистецького слова, Управа Об'єднання Працівників Літератури для Дітей і Молоді (ОПЛДМ) ім. Леоніда Глібова проголошує КОНКУРС МОЛОДОГО ПЕРА

Учасниками конкурсу можуть бути автори у віці від 18 до 25 років життя. Тема твору мусить затривувати проблеми сучасного життя нашої dorostayushoyi молоді. Жанр твору довільний: оповідання, нарис, репортаж, драматичний етюд, скетч, або віршована поема.

Нагороди:

1-ша нагорода — \$100.00 фундації пані Лесі Бризгун-Шанти, яка передала на ту ціль одержану нею нагороду на 12 Конкурсів СФУЖО за оповідання "Кам'яна Мушля".

2-га нагорода — \$50.00

3-тя нагорода — \$25.00.

Реченць конкурсу: 31 березня 1974 р.

II. Відлучи назустріч зацікавленням нашої молоді та бажаючи збагатити тематику нашої літератури, ОПЛДМ рівночасно проголошує

КОНКУРС

на повість або роман розміром 150 сторінок машинопису з науково-фантастичною або пригодницькою тематикою для юнацтва від 12 до 16 років життя.

Нагороди:

1-ша нагорода — \$500.00

2-га нагорода — \$300.00

3-тя нагорода — \$200.00

Реченць конкурсу: 31 липня 1974 д.

Конкурсні твори треба надіслати в трьох примірниках машинопису друкованого через інтервал. Головні герої творів мусять бути українці. Кожен твір треба позначити псевдом-гаслом. В окремому конверті мусить бути подане псевдо-гасло і правдиве ім'я, прізвище та адреса автора твору, як також літературний псевдонім, якщо такий є. Нагороджені твори залишаються власністю авторів.

Склад журі обидвох Конкурсів буде проголошено пізніше.

Твори присилати на адресу:

NASHYM DITAM — ОПЛДМ

c/o St. Mary's Credit Union

278 Bathurst Street

Toronto, M5T 2S3, Ont., Canada

Ольга Мак, Голова Стефанія Гурко, секретар

OFY GRANTS

Fifteen people have set up an OFY Committee to assist anyone wishing to take advantage of the OFY grants and work on a project this summer. The committee's work involves making people aware of the existence of OFY grants, suggesting possible projects and helping people with any problems concerning the writing of briefs.

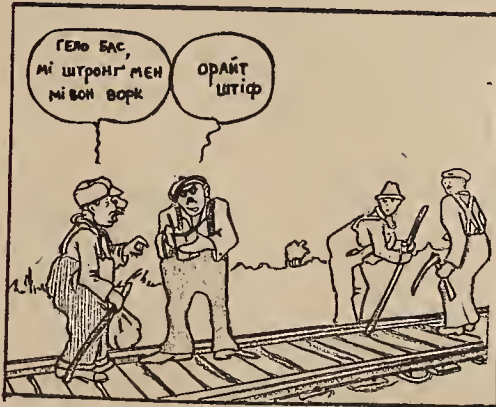
The OFY is now directed by Manpower. This means that projects have more chance of acceptance if they are community-oriented and if they can involve not only non-university students but high-school and secondary-school youth. Programmes relating strictly to one ethnic group have a greater chance of success if submitted for a Multicultural grant.

Suggestions so far have included: running day-care centres, old-age and drop-in centres, publishing a calendar and organising a creative-writers conference.

People working on the projects would receive around \$90 a week and have an expense allowance.

Anyone interested in finding out more about OFY grants or who has his own ideas for a project should contact Olya Kuplowska (962-2444), Oksana Slywynska (961-6245) or Marta Terebets (762-3766).

Вуйко Штіф





News has been received that the Soviet embassy has sent letters to travel agencies and group-leaders of tours threatening to cancel travel visas to the Ukraine this summer.

The news follows the demonstration in defence of Valentyn Moroz which was held in front of the Soviet embassy in Ottawa on February 24.

The letter from the embassy described the demonstration as a "violent" one, organized by "Ukrainian nationalists" which disrupted the work of the consulate and, as a result of this, visas may not be processed in time for the summer trips.

About 2000 summer visitors may be involved.

1000 people participated in the

demonstration, which the Ottawa press and the RCMP described as one of the best organized and most peaceful ever held by Ukrainians.

A spokesman for the "Committee to defend Valentyn Moroz" called the letter an attempt to blacken the defence committee and to intimidate the Ukrainian community.

A press conference will be held by the Committee to discuss the attitude of the embassy.

I. Fedun

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The editorial board wishes to stress once again that the ideas expressed in the various signed articles are not necessarily the ideas of "STUDENT" nor of SUSK but reflect the opinions of the authors.

We would welcome letters, comments and articles in response to questions raised in this issue or in any of the previous ones.

"STUDENT" aspires to be a forum for discussion and we urge our readers to use the opportunity provided by the newspaper for the expression of student opinion.

Our address is:

"STUDENT"
394 Bloor St. West
Toronto, Ontario
M5S 1X4

tel. 967 0640

FUND DRIVE REVEALS SUPPORT

SUSK treasurer, Wally Petryshyn, conducted a minor fund drive in the Toronto area in December. Twenty persons were approached for substantial contributions. Fourteen of them donated a total of \$1,500. Wally attributes this substantial material support to the high profile the student movement has built in the community through its successful activities in the past few years and the "STUDENT".

BOOKS..POSTERS..T-SHIRTS

BOOKS	Ferment in Ukraine.....	\$3.00
	For This Was I Born.....	\$2.50
	For a Better Canada.....	\$3.00
POSTERS	Saskatchewan Youth Jamboree	
	Pioneer Family....	\$1.50
	Havrylenko's Girl.....	\$2.00
	Free Ukrainian Political Prisoners.....	\$2.00
T-SHIRTS	Pan/Pani Doktor, Inginier, Dyrektor, Pani Dobrodijka...	\$3.00

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